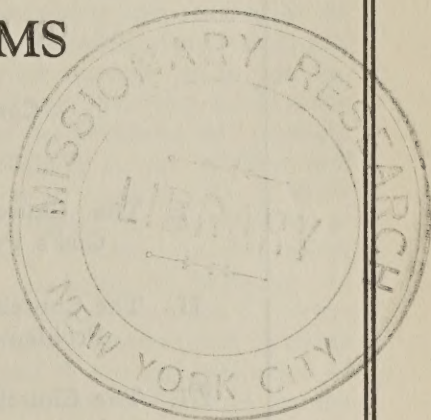


THE CHURCH AND ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL PROBLEMS



American Section
Report of Commission II

to

**THE UNIVERSAL CHRISTIAN CONFERENCE
ON LIFE AND WORK**

HELD IN STOCKHOLM, SWEDEN

August 19-30, 1925

UNIVERSAL CHRISTIAN CONFERENCE
ON LIFE AND WORK

Commission Reports

- I. The Church's Obligation in View of
God's Purpose for the World.
- II. The Church and Economic and Industrial
Problems.
- III. The Church and Social and Moral Prob-
lems.
- IV. The Church and International Relations.
- V. The Church and Education.
- VI. Methods of Co-operative and Federative
Efforts By the Christian Communions.

GENERAL PREFACE

A few words should be written about the inception of The Universal Christian Conference on Life and Work. In the summer of 1919 the International Committee of the World Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches met at The Hague. This was the first meeting of an international character held after the signing of the Armistice, if one excepts a small gathering of labor leaders. About sixty leaders of the Churches were present, representing nearly all the Protestant Communions and most of the countries of Europe. Ten or twelve delegates were present from America.

The meetings at The Hague developed so sweet and reasonable an atmosphere, at a time when great bitterness prevailed everywhere, and the delegates present expressed themselves so strongly as to the un-Christian character of war and the necessity of establishing a world order on a new and Christian basis, that several of the delegates felt strongly that the time had come for the Churches officially to get together and say what these Churchmen semi-officially were saying. As a result Archbishop Soederblom of Sweden, Dr. Charles S. Macfarland of America, the Dean of Canterbury, Dr. Henry A. Atkinson and others held an informal meeting to discuss the possibility of bringing the Churches of the world together for a Conference, where the Churches could utter their united conviction on international matters and all other matters with which society would have to deal in the reconstruction of civilization and the building of a new and better civilization on the ruins of the old, which lay all about them.

This preliminary meeting was not altogether spontaneous for on two separate occasions during the progress of the war, Archbishop Soederblom had communicated with the Churches of Europe and America regarding the possibility of such a conference and the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America had suggested that a Conference of the Federated bodies of Churches in all the countries might meet together after the war. The unanimous opinion of the unofficial group at The Hague was that a committee should be appointed to bring the leaders of the Churches together with the aim of convincing them of the necessity of such a world gathering of the Churches, and asking them to take the matter up with their respective denominations. This committee went from The Hague to Paris and brought together as many of the leaders of the Churches as possible upon such short notice. This meeting became greatly interested in the project and requested Dr. Frederick Lynch, Chairman of the Committee on Ecumenical Conference of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America to arrange for a preliminary meeting of the Churches the following summer.

Dr. Lynch proceeded from Paris to London and had several interviews with the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. F. B. Myers, Dr. Thomas Nightingale, Dr. J. H. Shakespeare and others. Meantime, Archbishop Soderbloom undertook to interest the Scandinavian Churches and Dr. Choisy

the Swiss Churches. Sufficient interest was aroused to warrant the calling of a preliminary Conference at Geneva in the summer of 1920.

As a result of the procedures recorded above, one hundred delegates assembled at Geneva in August of 1920. A three days session was held and the Conference gradually began to assume shape. Great interest was manifested and all present expressed themselves to the effect that the Church Universal had a great opportunity to exert a determining influence upon the new order that must follow the war. Furthermore the world was waiting for some great pronouncement from the Churches upon such questions as war and peace, the industrial order; such immediate problems as those having to do with intemperance and vice and upon all ethical and moral questions. It was felt that a positive and commanding utterance of the Churches in these trying years would do much to encourage a disheartened world and would make it much easier for those who were trying to reconstruct the world on a Christian basis to carry on this high task. There was much confusion in the world as to just where the Church did stand on these great problems disturbing the minds of men. The conviction was expressed that only as the rule of life laid down by the gospels became the law of nations could any hope for security and peace be found or the great sores of the world be healed.

Furthermore it was felt by all that whatever new international machinery might be set up or whatever new industrial order might arise, it was only as these were permeated by the spirit of Jesus Christ that they would fulfill the high hopes of their founders. It was also strongly felt that two great blessings might ensue from such a Conference. On the one hand all individual communions would profit by this period of common intercourse, especially those communions that had greatly suffered from the war. They would be made strong in the consciousness of the oneness of all Christ's disciples. On the other hand the coming together, if only for a month, of all the Churches of the world, to cooperate in the common task of redeeming the world order, and to make some great common pronouncement on the place of Christ in our civilization would be a great object lesson to the world.

At Geneva a large International Committee was set up which was divided into four groups, one for America, one for the British Empire, one for the European Protestant churches and the fourth representing the Orthodox Eastern Church. The International Committee appointed a smaller Executive Committee, which held three meetings in successive years, one at Peterborough, England, one at Zurich, Switzerland and one at Amsterdam, Holland. In August, 1922, the International Committee itself met at Helsingborg, Sweden, and was very fully attended by delegates from all the communions and nations. At this meeting the programme for the Conference assumed final shape. It was voted that the program for Stockholm should include the following groups of subjects:

1. The Church's Obligation in view of God's purpose for the world.
2. The Church and Economic and Industrial Problems.
3. The Church and Social and Moral Problems.
4. The Church and International Relations.
5. The Church and Christian Education.
6. Methods of Co-operative and Federative Efforts by the Christian Communions.

The reports which followed are in fulfillment of this vote taken at Helsingborg. In April, 1924, the full Committee met again at Birmingham, England, in connection with C. O. P. E. C. and reviewed the progress made upon the reports and dealt specifically with plans for the Stockholm meeting.

This is in brief the history of The Universal Christian Conference on Life and Work, and is the explanation of the reports which follow. These reports have been prepared with great care by the leaders of the Churches and by experts in the several questions discussed. They are submitted to the Conference in the hope that the Conference will receive them in the same spirit in which they have been written, i.e. in the endeavor to find the common consciousness of the Churches upon these subjects and to voice its united feeling.

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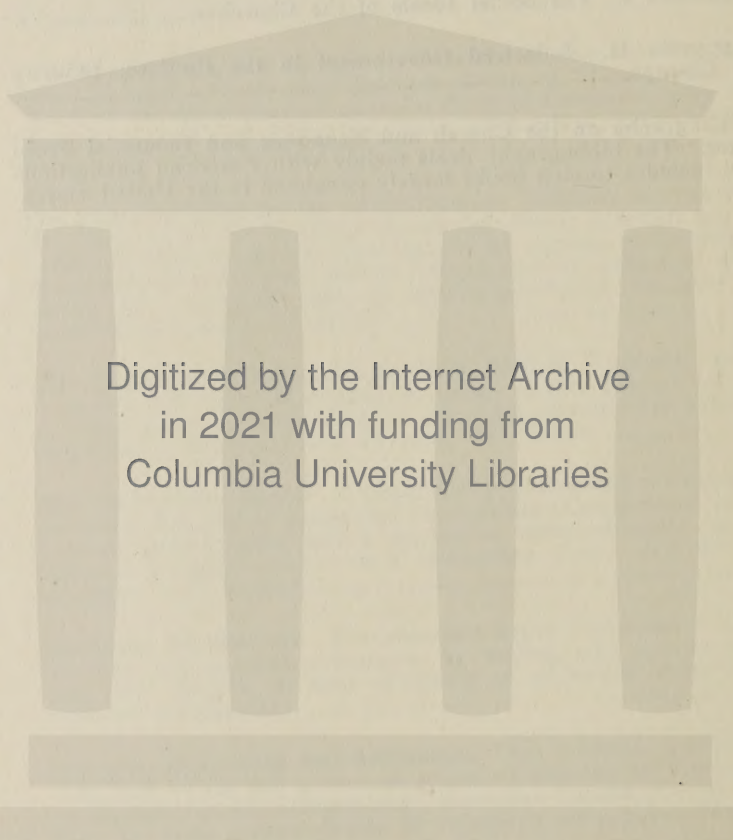
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THE CHURCH AND ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL PROBLEMS

An account of the relation in the United States of America to the economic and industrial life of the nation must begin with a word concerning the background of the present industrial situation in this country. There is reason to believe that this situation is not fully understood abroad.

The Economic and Industrial Background and Progress

The year 1776 witnessed two events, significant for American history, not commonly thought of as related—the signing of the Declaration of Independence and the publication of Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations." The era of economic individualism which the latter publication ushered in was intensified in America by coincidence with the establishment of a new political state. What happened in England due to the synchronizing of the industrial revolution with the development of a new laissez-faire philosophy of industry and trade was reproduced in America, with the difference that it was greatly enhanced by the natural influence of a pioneer environment and the absence of binding social traditions. Thus, in America, during the Nineteenth Century industry came to be characterized by an excessive individualism, continually reinforced by a beckoning frontier which made it possible for any enterprising individual, whether capitalist or laborer, to push into unexploited fields whenever he became hampered by competition or by restraints imposed by the community. The characteristic American ideal—a spirit of independence and intolerance of restraint, not uncommonly manifesting itself in aggressive non-conformity—is directly related to the fact that our history is that of a new country where the processes of socialization have been slowed down by the aggressiveness and success of individual enterprise.

But since the disappearance of the frontier, a decade or so before the end of the Nineteenth Century, the American industrial system, as it were, turned in upon itself. Competition has grown keener; labor has been inflated by an enormous influx of immigrants and has had to struggle collectively for an adequate share of the product. This struggle has been intensified by a competition of Negro with white labor, and latterly by a reversed tide of agricultural labor from the country to the city. The last two factors have been accentuated by the War, which has brought hundreds of thousands of Negroes into Northern industrial cities and has also greatly lessened the profitability of farming because of the slackened market abroad for agricultural products, the speculative rise of farm values, and the rises in cost of farm labor and machinery during and immediately following the war. Not only so, but the plight of the farmer has occasioned a marked conflict between rural and

urban labor interests. The country is in conflict with the city. An agrarian political movement has appeared to which certain liberal elements in the labor movement have allied themselves for the advocacy of special legislation, the development of the co-operative movement, the curtailment of corporate privilege and the reorganization of credit, policy.- This movement is however still young and weak, and has been checked by better conditions on the farms and the conservative swing of the election in 1924.

A reversal of our long established immigration policy has enormously cut down the supply of unskilled labor; this may prove to be the most significant recent change in our national life, tending to sharpen the competition for industrial labor and to accelerate still further the stream of farm labor toward the cities.

The developments here sketched have probably ushered in a new era in American industrial life. Yet the adjustment in thought and attitude which they have rendered necessary is as yet backward. Many American business men still cling to that individualism which resulted from boundless resources and unhampered enterprise which no longer exist. New legislation for the protection of labor is still opposed instinctively by most employers. Labor organization has not yet been accepted in principle by most employers although there are large areas of industry where labor relations on a union basis work smoothly and in the main satisfactorily. The trade unions unfortunately do not put before the public sufficiently the constructive side of unionism. The public tends to know only its controversial aspects. It is regarded by many employers as an evil to be avoided if possible, or to be resigned to if necessary and it receives also a considerable public hostility.

Progress in Labor Status and Welfare

The industrial situation in the United States as a whole, however, both at the present time and looked at over a period of years, shows marked progress. Labor organization has greatly increased in numbers and power, and in participation in national affairs. There have been great advances in the wages, living conditions, education, safety and health of the workers. In mining it is not legal in most states to work over eight hours a day, and a network of legal and union safe guards to life and health and for the protection of children and women have grown up. The same is true of the railroads, where due to organization and legislation and to a more considerate policy of administration, the entire service has been lifted within a generation as to hours, wages, home life, moral standards and participation in control. This is also true in most industries. Eight states now have the eight hour day. Fourteen states have minimum wage legislation for women. Most states prohibit the labor of children in non-agricultural pursuits up to fourteen, and surround minors up to sixteen, eighteen and twenty-one with protective restrictions as to hours, night work, educational

requirements, health, safety and morals. The Federal laws of 1916 and 1919 set a minimum standard of fourteen for entrance into factories, a higher age in certain industries, and an eight hour day a forty-eight hour week and prohibition of night work between fourteen and sixteen. The steel industry, which with notable exceptions among the so-called independents, has until recently pursued a backward policy in regard to a long work day, a seven day week and autocratic relations, has nevertheless developed stability in this basic industry and phenomenal achievements in safety, health, education and intelligent community organization. Similar advances have been made in most industries in the matter of safety appliances on moving machinery, lighting, air space, sanitary provisions, and fire hazards. The burden of accidents no longer falls exclusively upon the worker and his family, and increasingly strong industries provide as a part of the system not only against accident, but for sickness and through group insurance against death. One entire industry, the men's garment industry, has introduced a mutual scheme of unemployment insurance, and a number of individual concerns are doing the same, while the states of Wisconsin and Massachusetts are considering state systems of unemployment insurance.

In general it must be said that American industry is now characterized by an increased interest in "morale" and by behaviour on the part of employers which indicates a growing appreciation of the human factor in industrial relations, and the principle of cooperation. The conviction is growing that the hazards of large scale production are bound to increase, that the period of unregulated pursuit of profits has passed and that surety, stability and honest service to the public should be the main objects of effort.

American industry is also in plastic condition allowing exceptional freedom for experimentation, due to the fact that it has not as yet set in moulds as in older and in some respects more advanced industrial nations of Europe. New methods in scientific technique, organization, labor relations and welfare are constantly appearing, and the world may expect advances along fundamentally capitalistic lines, involving important adjustments to social control, as well as experiments of the socialistic type. The organization of the men's garment industry is a bold stroke towards cooperative relations in the form of industrial unionism, and towards the control of both intermittency and unemployment. Under the leadership of the Department of Commerce, the whole problem of the business cycle, seasonal work and other forms of intermittency, are being studied with a view to ultimate control. Many corporations are stimulating the purchase of their stock by employees and the consumers. These are hopeful illustrations of a capitalist society setting about the study and control of its own evils and the perfecting and democratizing of its own organization.

The participation of women in industry was emphasized, though not greatly accelerated by the war, and women's labor organizations are now among the potent factors in the labor movement. The influence

of women upon industrial standards has been greatly augmented by their political enfranchisement. One of the conspicuous recent evidences of this new force in American affairs, is the support by the great national organizations of women of the newly proposed Child Labor Amendment to the Federal Constitution. Favorable action has at last been secured on the part of Congress, and if the amendment is finally ratified by the states the way will be open for control by statute and finally the abolition of this long continued evil. In the development of protective legislation for the workers, women have played an influential part.

The Attitude of Organized Religion

With respect to the attitude of organized religion toward industrial problems it may be said that the American churches have passed through a period of formulating ideals and making pronouncements which have come to be fairly widely known. A recent assembling of such pronouncements disclosed the fact that nearly seventy have been issued in the course of the last decade and a half. Foremost among them, so far as Protestantism is concerned, is the document known as The Social Ideals of the Churches—sometimes referred to as the Social Creed—which was promulgated by the Federal Council of the Churches in 1908, and to which a series of interpretive resolutions was appended in 1919. (Appendix I). In a general way it may be taken as representing liberal Protestant opinion in America, although the need of its revision and extension is recognized. The Roman Catholic Bishops Program of Social Reconstruction, adopted in 1919, is a very important statement on industrial questions. It reflects a change in emphasis from abstract ideals to the dynamics of ethical progress in industry.

There are indications, however, that the interest in mere pronouncement-making is less than formerly. There can be no doubt of the value of the pronouncements that have been made in challenging attention and securing the interest of groups outside the churches who needed some direct evidence that the Church is interested in their problems. These utterances have also encouraged and sustained many a minister who was working single-handed for the recognition of the relation of Christianity to industrial and economic issues. Now, however, we are less interested in anything approximating a formal creed and more interested in specific applications of accepted Christian principles to specific situations. We are more concerned, as was said by a liberal employer "To throw a blazing light on the next steps to be taken." The ideal of a living wage for example, is not considered as clear as it once seemed to be. There is no increased disposition to discredit it as a social ideal but there is much inquiry into the meaning of that ideal in terms of definite standards for concrete situations. The tendency has an evident relation to the preoccupation of present day educators in America with "behaviour" as against mere ideas.

Further, men and women, many of whom are responsible leaders of Christian churches and others of whom are not expressly identified with the churches, are coming together for serious inquiry into the meaning of Christianity for definite life situations. The recently organized group called the "Inquiry" is using the method of group discussion for the evaluation of standards of conduct. Its interest is not limited to industrial and economic questions but these are central in its researches and discussions. This undertaking is additional evidence that the Christian conscience in America is becoming sensitive not only on the question of stewardship but with reference to the sources and uses of wealth and power.

But the churches themselves are deeply interested in these questions, and have been since the pioneering days of Gladden, Strong and Peabody. It is a hopeful feature of American religious life that the most aggressive programs of social action affecting religion in industry have come from the churches themselves, that is from their stated teachers and organizations. This has been especially true of the northern Baptists, Congregationalists, Disciples of Christ, Methodist Episcopal, Methodist Episcopal Church, South, northern Presbyterians, Protestant Episcopal, the Reformed Church in the United States, Unitarians and Universalists. The Methodist Federation for Social Service, organized in 1908, has devoted itself to the more radical phases of reconstruction, especially to its educational aspects, and has had great influence not only upon its own denomination but upon the other Protestant communions. The great mission boards of the American churches, both home and foreign give serious attention to industrial populations and industrial problems, as also the curricula of religious education. The northern Baptists, Congregationalists, Disciples, northern Methodists and Episcopalians have well staffed departments devoted exclusively to social work, with usually a major interest in labor and the problems of industry. The curricula of the theological seminaries of these churches and the educational work of their young peoples societies are fairly well socialized. The Congregationalists and Methodists collaborate in the production of Sunday school courses in this field, and the southern Methodists to a more limited extent. The northern Baptists have produced a notable literature centering in the Divinity School of the University of Chicago, the Rochester Theological Seminary in which Walter Rauschenbusch was a teacher, and the Department of Social Service of the Publication Society of Philadelphia. The northern Presbyterian Board of National Missions may be said to have pioneered in the better relating of the churches to industrial populations and to the organized labor movement. It was through their initiative that representatives have been sent for years by the Federal Council of Churches of the Churches of Christ in America to the conventions of the American Federation of Labor, and that fraternal delegates from Ministers Associations in cities are sent to Central Trades and Labor Councils. The Toledo Council of Churches

also receives delegates from the Central Labor Union. Chicago Commons, connected for many years with the chair of Social Economics of the Chicago Theological Seminary, has had a powerful socializing influence in the middle west. It is perhaps unfair to refer to these particular seminaries without reference also to the attention which is being given to the same problems at Garrett, Yale, Boston, Cambridge, Union, and other seminaries.

The Federal Council of the Churches, through its Commission on The Church and Social Service, together with the social service departments of its constituent bodies, have for the last four years been carrying on numerous community and industrial conferences attended by ministers, employers, labor leaders, teachers and social workers, looking toward a better understanding and fuller cooperation between employers and employees, and toward the preparation of pastors to interpret Christian principles to those engaged in industry. These conferences have reached the organized life of communities, such as churches, colleges, chambers of commerce, labor temples, high schools, luncheon clubs and women's organizations. A significant feature has been the opening of pulpits on Sundays to progressive employers and representatives of labor.

The Young Men's Christian Association has also been holding many conferences in the same field, adhering mainly to the non-controversial aspect of industrial relationships, but also entering somewhat into the technical problems of industrial management in relation to labor.

The Young Women's Christian Association has accompanied its work with industrial women and girls by a program of education on industrial questions throughout its constituency and by participation in legislative activity. Its unique contribution has been its endeavor to make of its membership a fellowship of women of varied experiences in which the experience and point of view of the industrial group serve to interpret the meaning of industrial problems in human lives, and in which their needs have found expression through the policy of the organization as a whole.

The Federal Council of Churches has also organized a Department of Research and Education, an agency for the study of industrial and economic events and movements with a view to interpreting them to its constituency as they bear upon the progress of Christianity and the opportunity of the Church. It publishes a weekly Information Service of fact material in industry, race relations, rural economics and international affairs for use of pastors, editors, teachers and lay social workers. The Roman Catholic Church has made an important contribution during the last two years in the organization of the Catholic Industrial Conference. Jewish groups have likewise taken a new interest in industrial questions, and on several occasions, Protestants, Catholic and Jews have addressed themselves jointly to some outstanding industrial issue. It should be noted also that several of the large denominations in the United States are offering extensive opportunities

for the continuous training of their clergy, and readjusting their community contacts through Pastors' Summer Schools. The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, for example, had above 2000 pastors in such schools during the Summer of 1924.

No adequate account of the American Church's relation to industry could leave out the achievement of the Interchurch World Movement, which made an exhaustive study of the great steel strike in 1919 and published in its findings in a volume, and later a second volume, that attracted country-wide attention. It is recognized as an important contribution to the literature of labor relations as well as an evidence of the ability and readiness of a great official religious organization to enter a highly controversial field and bring out the essential facts with a degree of accuracy that is surprising in view of the newness of this field for religious effort. Lesser investigations have been made since that time, although in general it is felt that the research equipment of the churches should employ itself mainly in secondary study—that is, in authenticating and interpreting the findings of various specialized agencies of research and investigation.

The Industrial Order in the United States

We come now to a discussion of economic and industrial problems from the point of view of the Christian Church and with the American Church particularly in mind. The framers of this report acknowledge the impossibility of reporting in any authoritative way the judgment of the Christian community in this country. The consensus is still much less impressive than the dissensus. We are able only to record our own convictions, which we believe to be in accord with the trend of Christian opinion in the United States.

Even a cursory glance at modern industry discloses the fact that it is characterized by stress and strains, by discontent and strife. This condition and its causes have had classic statement from the labor point of view in the report of the United States Commission on Industrial Relations. Having been created by Act of Congress, August 23rd, 1912, the report carries especial significance. We quote the following from the report:

"The sources from which this unrest springs are, when stated in full detail, almost numberless. But upon careful analysis of their real character they will be found to group themselves almost without exception under four main sources which include all the others. The four are:

- "1. Unjust distribution of wealth and income.
- "2. Unemployment and denial of an opportunity to earn a living.
- "3. Denial of justice in the creation, in the adjudication, and in the administration of law.
- "4. Denial of the right and opportunity to form effective organizations.

"The conviction that the wealth of the country and the income which is produced through the toil of the workers are distributed without regard to any standard of justice is as widespread as it is deep-seated. It is found among all classes of workers and takes every form from the dumb resentment of the day laborer, who, at the end of a week's back-racking toil finds that he has less than enough to feed his family, while others who have done nothing live in ease, to the elaborate philosophy of the "soap-box orator," who can quote statistics unendingly to demonstrate his contentions. At bottom, though, there is the one fundamental, controlling idea that income should be received for service and for service only, whereas, in fact, it bears no such relation, and he who serves least, or not at all, may receive most. . . .

"As a prime cause of a burning resentment and a rising feeling of unrest among the workers, unemployment and the denial of an opportunity to earn a living is on a parity with the unjust distribution of wealth. They may on final analysis prove to be simply the two sides of the same shield, but that is a matter which need not be discussed at this point. They differ in this, however, that while unjust distribution of wealth is a matter of degree, unemployment is an absolute actuality, from which there is no relief but soul-killing crime or soul-killing charity."

This description would not be accepted by many competent observers as an accurate portrayal of the present situation in industry in the United States, as not taking account of the favorable situation of labor in this country as compared with other lands, and as not duly appreciative of the progress which has taken place, which has been sketched in a previous section of this report. It must be recognized also that there prevails among American employers a general irritation at the demands of labor, a feeling that industry is shackled and made wasteful by union practices and regulations, a resentment against radical propaganda within the ranks of labor which engenders hatred and slackening of effort, and an attitude of unfriendliness to the labor movement as a whole growing out of an individualistic philosophy and the friction and losses arising from labor troubles.

It must be kept in mind also that there are thousands of industrial establishments, particularly the smaller ones, of which there are a vast number in America, in which these problems are not visibly present, and one might visit many shops, especially in unorganized industries and find comparative peace and an absence of hostile feeling. This is especially true where employers have had the vision to avoid suspicion and hostility by following the Golden Rule in their relations with their workmen. Furthermore, there has been a general increase in the prosperity of the wage workers since the war and the establishment of prohibition.

The studies of the National Industrial Conference Board find that

beginning with an index number of 100 in 1914, by June 1920 cost of living had reached a peak of 203 and hourly earnings 248. The index number of "real" hourly earnings was therefore 122. In June 1923 "real" earnings had reached an index number of 140. Research Report Number 62, p. 32.

Nevertheless the indictment by the United States Commission on Industrial Relations must be recognized as pertinent and to a disturbing extent justified by the facts.

The Purpose of Industry—The Profit Motive

It is against this background that we must consider the purpose of industry which we are asked particularly to discuss from the Christian point of view. It has been said in defense of the industrial regime that since the purpose of an industrial establishment is to produce goods, it is irrelevant to introduce any other criterion of judgment. On the other hand, it has been asserted by critics of industry that its true purpose is the more abundant life of the people. Again it is urged that the purpose of industry is to make profits for the owners. It seems apparent that no such thorough-going distinction can be maintained. Probably few exponents of these several opinions would defend them to their logical conclusions to the exclusion of other considerations.

Even if it were admitted that efficiency of production is one standard by which an industry should be judged, it must just as inevitably face a test growing out of its effect upon human life. The significance of the whole personnel movement in industry and business lies just here, that human relationships have come to be as definite a factor in success as in any technical element in the process. Industrial leaders seem to be alive to this fact and the crux of the situation in America is in the contest between labor unionism on the one hand and other forms of labor relations on the other, to determine which will survive in the effort to secure the willing cooperation of labor in the production of goods. The labor movement itself is impressive evidence of the large part played by human and personal factors in our economic life.

As for the contention that the purpose of industry is to make profits, we must distinguish between rewards in the sense of market value of labor or of money, and profit in the economic meaning of the term. There is a disposition today within the Christian community to question the ethical validity of pure profit in the economic sense, that is, a return from business enterprise or a business transaction that is quite beyond and separate from the "going rate" upon invested capital and the "wages of superintendence." In practice, speculative enterprises demand a return according to the risk involved without reference to the question whether the enterprise is socially legitimate or to the further question whether, granted that it is legitimate, the risk involved should not be socially insured. Although most would accept, probably few

critical minds would attempt to justify by a Christian standard the enormous profits which are frequently reaped from fortunate investment and which are often dependent upon values created by the community, when it is impossible to show any corresponding service which the community has received. It is increasingly questioned by many in church circles how the accumulation of profits in the economic sense—a gain in addition to the normal reward for service rendered—can constitute a tenable motive from the Christian point of view.

We feel strongly, however, that economic motives should be re-examined by Christian people from a New Testament point of view. When thus scrutinized it is difficult to see how there can be more than one answer to the issue raised. It is contained in the familiar concept of stewardship, which is given great attention in the United States by church boards in their efforts to increase giving to Christian causes. But unfortunately that word seems to have lost its major signification—namely, that for the Christian, private property, strictly speaking, does not exist, as it does not exist, absolutely, for any citizen. He does not own property: he holds it in trust for God. There is clearly no agreement among American Christians as to the consistency of the accumulation of large fortunes with the Christian view of wealth, but Christianity plainly requires that wealth shall be accumulated by a corresponding service; and that if one has come into the possession of wealth, it becomes at once a social trust. Going beyond this, many Christians are disturbed by the great gulf that has come to exist between the rich and the poor, not only because of the sufferings and privations of those at the bottom of the economic scale, but because of the spiritual isolation which the possession of wealth in the face of others' poverty brings to those at the top. In any case, it is from the Christian's point of view axiomatic that if the existence of large fortunes is held to be essential to the conservation of the social surplus, then it becomes the spiritual responsibility of those to whom this stewardship falls to use their wealth as a tool rather than to wear it as a garment, and to recognize that stewardship is not alone a responsibility to God, but also directly to society.

The Competitive System

The next problem to which the inquiry brings us is that of the moral quality of what we commonly call the competitive system. Probably this is too formal and abstract a term, for there are varieties of competition and they do not represent an organized system so much as an accumulation of human tendencies which stand out in sharp relief as they appear in relation to industry and trade. Here again there are widely variant views, within the Christian community, of the moral quality of common practices and attitudes.

We feel warranted in saying that competition on the lower economic level, which results in perpetual insecurity and a low standard of life—competition for work which forces wages to a level too low to sustain

a good life, or competition between business concerns whether national or international which jeopardizes sound and basic industries, is against public welfare. A Christian society should devise a better method of securing an adaptation of means to ends than one that inevitably makes the satisfaction of human needs a matter of hazardous enterprise.

The conditions which beset human life on the earth are such as to make struggle between individuals and groups and institutions as inevitable as their cooperation. The educational problem is therefore to win the thought of all to the common good, and to make cooperation the controlling spirit and method. There is a type of individualism from which mankind cannot escape no matter what collective enterprises it may embark upon. It calls for the attainment by individual men and women of spiritual excellence, a disciplined life, a consecrated will and a habit of sacrificial service. All social effort is ultimately dependent on the spiritual functioning of the personal life. It cannot be too strongly maintained that the Christian view of business and industry is not predicated upon an out and out substitution of altruistic for egoistic attitudes and motives, but upon a synthesis of these elements of life in what may be called a process of socialization. If cooperative methods come to prevail where now individual initiative is dominant it must be because of the demonstrated practical value of these methods for getting things done, and because of their better effect upon human life. It is here that the Christian view of industry and trade clashes with the prevailing economics. The business community as a whole still clings to the classical economics that treats labor as a commodity, although the idea that labor is not a commodity and must not be treated as such, now has the sanction of law and increasingly of public opinion, especially of church opinion, in the United States. The Christian indictment against this doctrine is not merely that it is morally wrong, but that it is scientifically unsound. Economics has been treated too much as a material science and not enough as a human science. Our newer school of economists, which goes by the designation, "Institutionalist," makes recognition of human factors in associated living and working which the older economics ignored. From this school organized religion is receiving invaluable aid in its attack upon evils in industry in whose defense a mechanistic theory has been advanced and stoutly maintained. The arbitrary rule of the law of supply and demand is gradually being humanized and corrected as men come to see that freedom and self expression and the impulse to mutual aid are as elemental in life as the quest of food and shelter.

Economic Alternatives

A discussion of the merits of our economic order brings us naturally to the consideration of what are commonly called possible alternatives to the present system. We feel that it is a mistake to think of the economic order in such definite and objective terms. It is not a unit thing to be accepted or rejected, to be voted in or out, but a complex of habits, at-

titudes and value-judgments which, barring social catastrophe, can be modified only by a gradual process of experiment, education and patient discipline. Least of all can we balance our present system against one abstraction after another which may be put forward as substitutes for it and decide with any degree of assurance what is the best solution of our social problems. Nothing is better established with reference to past efforts at reform and reconstruction than that the mere adoption of a program and the bestowal of authority upon its exponents inevitably occasions a recasting of the scheme itself in the interest of practicableness and in order to face the realities of life. It should go without saying, of course, that tentative goals and trial patterns must be made use of in the interest of definite and measurable progress but such goals and patterns must be regarded as means to a spiritual end which outlives all structural devices.

In place of a formal evaluation of conceivable alternatives to the industrial order as such, we offer a brief review of what seem to be the most fruitful lines of experimentation in this country and to suggest the most promising fields of further effort.

It is of first importance to note that progress is achieved not by superimposing some device upon industry or trade or education, but by dealing with specific conflicts over opposing interests or opposing ideas in such a way as to remove obstacles to cooperative activity and to bring about an integration of purpose in the light of better understood aims. Thus we progressively overcome friction in our social machinery and release new energies for creative work. This fact supplies us with a criterion for testing the many devices that are constantly appearing in business and industry for the purpose of promoting stability or of securing recognition of some group interest.

It is at this point that religious idealism tends to part company with the doctrinaire idealism of social radicals. The latter are so preoccupied with their role as custodians of an ultimate collective pattern for industrial life, that they make it a matter of loyalty to the pattern to treat as enemies all who do not share in their vision of it. It is this static element in their psychology that commits them to a catastrophic theory of social change, where other idealists look to change by social engineering.

Much difficulty has been experienced in the past by religious and other idealistic groups which have approached the industrial question from the viewpoint of ultimate right and wrong and have felt that any preoccupation with expedients savored of compromise and was a move in the direction of second-best rather than best ends in industrial reconstruction. We strongly feel that principles of action must be held in higher esteem than rules or mechanisms that are aimed at carrying out preconceived notions of what our industrial order should be. An examination of particular methods in concrete situations is the only adequate method of ascertaining what Christian ideals imply with respect to industry.

Collective Bargaining and Arbitration

The first fact that faces us in a survey of the instruments of industrial change is the institution of collective bargaining through trade unions. Unfortunately the significance of the trade union in this connection is often eclipsed by the industrial warfare which goes on intermittently between organized labor and its employers. This warfare is admittedly a matter of grave concern and careful students of American industrial conditions who are wholly sympathetic with the aspirations of labor have been led to point out the necessity of a more cooperative attitude on the part of labor and the assumption by the unions of a larger measure of responsibility. We quote from the report of the Conference on Ethical Forces in Advancing Standards in Industry of the National Conference of Social Work, submitted at Toronto in July, 1924: "Even the issue of collective bargaining cannot be settled objectively in accord with any slogan that either group in industry may invent. It is not a simple question of right and wrong: it is a way to industrial action along which the parties to industry must negotiate their passage in a spirit of give and take. Is it any wonder that we are marking time in the matter of securing recognition of the principle of collective bargaining when we try to prescribe it as a duty rather than as a highly experimental undertaking which indeed promises large rewards but only on condition that a high price is paid in terms of responsible, energetic action and good faith? Collective bargaining may mean much or little. To be sure, it is of more than ordinary use as an ideal principle of action for the reason that it is essentially dynamic rather than static. But to insist that an employer must recognize a union is of little use or meaning save as the question is asked, 'To what end'? The more progressive labor unions recognize this fact. They understand that in this connection, as in every other, self-determination has no moral quality save within the sphere of socially creative effort." The signers of this report include able representatives of the labor movement.

Latterly, there have been many evidences among labor organizations of a tendency to depend less upon force and to accept a larger measure of responsibility for the maintenance of efficiency and the safeguarding of production, and to have a greater regard for the interests of the community as a whole. The development of trade agreements through which such responsibilities are taken by organized labor is one of the most hopeful signs in American industrial life. Experiments are now under way, which will be watched with the greatest interest, looking toward joint industrial government in which the owners and workers in an establishment and the labor union to which the latter belong are partners in the enterprise.

Arbitration is an instrument very frequently employed to secure and maintain industrial peace. We think that the principle of arbitration should be very closely scrutinized. When it is simply the yielding of two parties to the will of the third party there is little that can be called

constructive in the process. We quote again from the Committee on Ethical Forces in Advancing Standards in Industry: "Arbitration has little in it to commend from the ethical point of view, unless it is a device self-imposed, merely as an instrument in the process of social adjustment within industry. When imposed by the community it may perhaps be justified as an emergency measure but it is essentially a negative and anti-social procedure because it puts an end to the only processes that can result in true solutions; it is terminal and static, not creative."

We are working out in America, however, an approach to what is sometimes referred to as constitutional government in industry through arbitration machinery jointly maintained and operated for the continuous government of industries under trade agreements. Illustrations are found in the impartial chairmanship maintained in the garment industry and in such national agreements as those in the newspaper business between publishers and printers, in the glass industry and the stove and heater industry. The superiority of this type of procedure rests not only upon the possibility of preventing stoppages but upon the recognition of the workers' status and the progressive establishment of a constitutional basis of industrial government.

It is pointed out by sympathetic observers of these new developments that their danger is in the possibility that they may degenerate into merely mechanical and legalistic devices, giving undue consideration to precedents and thus developing new forms of waste and failing to discover true equalities and to liberate new energies. It should be recognized also that the institution of the impartial chairmanship has even greater possibilities in the way of informal mediation and conciliation than in the more formal office of deciding issues that have resisted informal efforts at adjustment.

The Open Shop Movement

The legitimacy and value of trade unionism in the United States has been largely obscured of late by the Open Shop Movement. It is called by its promoters, The American Plan, and is in essence an effort to break or forestall the control of the union in shops and trade. It is directed first of all against the closed or entirely union shop. Theoretically, the open shop is consistent with dealing with regular union organizations, so long as they do not demand the closed shop; but in practice the Open Shop Movement is often an attack upon unionism, a most bitter and uncompromising attack. There is little value in belonging to a union if a worker is discharged when he attempts to organize, or if the employer refuses to meet his men collectively. As was remarked by one of our economists, "it would do him about as much good as to belong to a golf club."

However, the closed or strictly union shop—in which none but union men can work—in so far as it rests upon coercion is questionable in

Christian ethics and probably also is not necessary in union tactics. The Railway Brotherhoods have never demanded it, and great unions like the International Blacksmiths have succeeded without it. When a union shop is brought about by agreement without coercion, as is frequently done, it is a practical plan to which the religious spirit cannot lodge objection. The claim of the union to support by every worker who participates in the gains which union action has secured is valid. The use of coercive measures, however, to secure recognition of this principle is to be depreciated. There is need on all hands of reliance on Christian methods, even in times of industrial conflict.

Employee Representation

Employee representation is a device that was given considerable impetus by the War. It is sometimes carried on under a trade union agreement but commonly in America today it is regarded especially in labor circles as an alternative to trade union collective bargaining. It is perhaps not possible to render a fair judgment concerning this system because it has had but limited trial. In many cases employee representation schemes have been attempts to forestall trade union organization, but others are forward looking experiments in industrial democracy. Many of them are in industries which were not organized. No interest in labor morale can be permanently fruitful that does not spring from a deep respect for the workers themselves and a concern for their rights and interests. We believe, however, that no matter how imperfect a system of employee representation may be, any plan which provides for the judicial hearing of grievances and for the meeting of management and men as a matter of right and custom for the discussion of common problems is vastly superior to an autocratic form of industrial government. There is ground for the hope that autocracy is gradually giving way in this country, both as result of the pressure of the labor movement and in response to an active public opinion.

There has been a considerable development of profit sharing among large and important concerns. It has received interesting expression by a Western employer who holds that, for his best work, every employee must possess both craftsmanship and proprietorship, the latter taking the form not only of stock ownership but of the certainty of receiving his share of the prosperity of the enterprise. It is interesting to note that, significant as the principle of profit sharing is, it has seemed to affect the industrial situation in America but slightly. The theory that a worker is entitled not only to his wages but to a share in the profits without regard to the ownership of stock has plainly far reaching consequences. The operation of the plan in America, however, has been continually under the shadow of disapproval and suspicion on the part of labor because it not always worked out fortunately and has been considered an effort to purchase loyalty without the delegation of power. Regardless of the justification of this attitude, we

have here an evidence that money rewards do not by themselves meet the problem of industrial relations. Underlying all other interests of organized labor is the demand for self-determination.

•Appendix II. Government in the Clothing Industry of Chicago.

The Cooperative Movement

The cooperative movement has received much impetus in the last few years, particularly in agricultural communities. Its usefulness as a means of eliminating the middleman's profit where no corresponding service is rendered, is not to be questioned. In the fruit industry of the Pacific Coast for example its usefulness in standardizing quality and assuring stable markets, has been demonstrated. Studies are being made at the present time to determine what the cooperative movement has to offer in the way of raising the level of business and industrial relationships. Naturally up to this time the purely commercial aspects of cooperative processes have been dominant in these movements, but there are evidences also of the working of spiritual forces.

One of the major social tasks awaiting us in America is the solution of some of the problems of agricultural economics. We have already taken note of the forces that tend to array agriculture and industry against each other. The primal difficulty would seem to be a confusion over status. While in urban industry a line is sharply drawn between employer and owner on the one hand and worker on the other, the farmer, whether owner or tenant, scarcely knows whether his proper affinities are with labor or with capital. The farm owner is one of the hardest of workers and research economists say that the real income of the owner and tenant as a rule represents labor and not income from invested capital, yet he is frequently an employer of labor and a payer of wages. He is, therefore, in first hand contact with some of the elements of the labor problem. Yet, during recent years his difficulty in marketing his goods and the hardships which he suffers due to the high prices of manufactured products makes him anything but sympathetic with business and industry.

This situation results in a measure of bitterness among American farmers which is perhaps quite as sharp as that which is engendered in industrial conflict. By analogy to the industrial situation, it would seem that, just as the right of organization and the development of group consciousness on the part of employers on the one hand and workers on the other is a prerequisite of the highest form of group service, so in agriculture the farmers must find their place in the entire scheme of production and distribution and must develop a group consciousness comparable to that of the craft or professional guild before they can properly and usefully cooperate for the improvement of production and the enrichment of rural life. The most immediate need of the situation would seem to be a better understanding on the part of industrial employers and workers and of the urban community in general of the

conditions of the farmer's life and the problems of rural development and reconstruction.

Public Ownership in America

Public ownership in the United States is limited almost entirely to public utilities in cities, such as electric light, gas and water plants, a few street railways, subways and ferries, a very small railway mileage in the State of Virginia and in Alaska, and a temporary partnership in ship owning and operation growing out of the enormous merchantile marine which was created by the Government during the War. Municipal ownership of public utilities has had a checkered career, due to political control in most American cities, but with a noticeable and even rapid improvement in municipal administration, has come also increasing efficiency in the handling of such utilities. Few cities owning them will ever go back to private ownership.

The movement towards nationalization of the basic industries of coal and the railroads, for years a purely academic question in the United States, has received great reinforcement by the advocacy of the American Federation of Labor, and became for the first time a serious political issue in the last campaign. The Plumb Plan for the railroads and the plan proposed by the United Mine Workers for the mines, provide for public ownership but show a distrust of public operation. Each plan proposes control of these industries by a board of directors representing the government, the technicians, and the organized workers. Neither, however, has been adopted, but are still in the stage of discussion.

On the whole it must be recognized that operation of industries by the state, and all forms of state socialism, have had a distinct set back in public opinion, due partly to the experience of the War and partly to the development of Communism in Europe. The impression, due in part to propaganda, but also to the sincere objection based upon careful study of the facts, prevails, that state operation of public utilities, such as railroads in Europe, has not shown the initiative nor the economic advantages of private enterprise.

We would record our belief in the efficacy of certain auxiliary influences tending to improve industrial relations and pointing toward a more satisfactory industrial order. In this connection reference should be made to the Business Problems Group of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends, composed largely of employers, which is seriously undertaking to study the problems of its own members with reference to specific proposals for improvement. Some of these employers have voluntarily submitted to a critical study of their plants in order to discover methods of further incorporating their Christian principles in the conduct of their enterprises. A similar undertaking was launched two years ago by the Business Men's Group of the Ethical Culture Society. A significant effort is also being developed in the state of Wisconsin under the leadership of the Congregational Church, but now

receiving the cooperation of other denominations, which is bringing together ministers, employers, workers and economists to study industrial conditions in the State and to promote good feeling and cooperation between employers and employees. Serious attention is also being given to the subject in the Sunday School curriculum for adult classes, and in mission study courses.

Civic, commercial and professional associations are also manifesting an interest in ethical problems of industry which is not without promise. Many Chambers of Commerce have broadened their social outlook although most of them are mighty "capitalistic". Some of them seek labor representation in their membership and are working for industrial good will, as for example in Seattle and Boise. Most Chambers now interest themselves in city planning, zoning, community chests and other social projects. Thousands of luncheon clubs, which are a striking feature of American business life to be found everywhere even in small communities, emphasize the service motive, offer opportunities for discussion of public questions and are generally interested in local social projects. There is a marked tendency at present to formulate business codes, notable among which are those undertaken under the auspices of the Federal Trade Commission and the United States Chamber of Commerce. A most significant event also took place recently in Washington under the leadership of the Department of Labor, when the paper box manufacturers of the country decided of themselves to eliminate Sunday work and to introduce the eight-hour day. These are illustrations of hopeful tendencies.

Workers' education, a comparatively new development, is recognized in America as an important force for progress. It is now in the critical position of determining whether it shall be a movement for technical and cultural education having its affinities with the entire community or a narrower movement representing only class interests. Both tendencies are apparent. The future must determine. The teacher may perhaps feel that he should meet his student where he is on the basis of his actually felt desire, trusting to the experience of study to liberalize the worker as the study course proceeds. There is undoubtedly here an extraordinary opportunity for leadership on the part of religious and social workers and of teachers of economics, sociology and political science, whose services are welcomed by these groups of working people who are seeking a larger life. The church group has shown a hopeful initiative in the projection of these schools in a few centers. Such participation, however, is not likely to rob the workers of initiative and leadership in a movement which they themselves have brought into being.

Closely related to this movement is that of labor research, which is one of the most important of the more recent developments in the industrial field. It is the basis not only of a new educational effort within the labor movement but the basis of an appeal to knowledge rather than to force.

The Opportunity of the Churches

Our final word has to do with the opportunity that faces the churches in the United States. The function of the church in relation to industry has been somewhat clarified by the discussion and experimentation which has followed the war. It must be said that the entrance of the church into the industrial field has occasioned much controversy. It has been received by most employers with either skepticism or unfriendliness, sometimes in like manner by labor and by a considerable element of the church itself. The question of competency has been most often raised, but also the more fundamental question of the right of the church to teach in this field.

On the other hand, the churches have had the encouragement of progressive employers who are working seriously at the problem of the Christian spirit in their industries. Their position was well stated five years ago by a well known employer before a conference of church leaders, employers, union officials and economists, who had been brought together by the Federal Council of the Churches to discuss the industrial policy of the Council. "The influence of religion," he said, "is absolutely essential to any constructive solution of the industrial problem, and the churches must undertake to teach regardless of the misunderstanding which arise. We employers will try to force you off the field, but you must not allow yourselves to be forced off. The human and ethical problems involved are within the comprehension of the average pastor if he will read and become familiar at first hand with local establishments."

The conference was of the opinion that the first task of the church would be to think through its own function and responsibility, and to assist pastors in their preparation to teach. This has been the serious task of the Federal Council and the departments of Social Service of its constituent denominations ever since, and the primary purpose of industrial conferences, Information Service, and books, pamphlets and reports which have been issued by the Federal Council.

The years which have followed have shown the soundness of the points of view expressed at this conference in 1920. It must be confessed also that they have brought a sobering realization of the lack of unity of the Church of Christ and the utter unreadiness of many pastors to do effective teaching. Nevertheless, the confidence of the churches in their ability to contribute seriously to the education of public opinion and to the setting up of authoritative Christian standards in industry itself, has grown with experience. The public also has been awakened to the influence of the churches, and none understand it better than those who look with misgivings or hostility upon their activities in the industrial field.

A noteworthy demonstration was made in 1923 in connection with the crusade against the twelve-hour day in the steel industry that moral opinion alone can work changes in the economic and industrial world.

The United States Steel Corporation declined to introduce the eight-hour day, at the request of President Harding, but the marshalling of public sentiment which was occasioned by the protests of religious bodies, Protestant, Catholic and Jewish, brought about a change of policy within a few weeks.

The churches clearly have an opportunity for service in this field that has not yet been measured. Prophetic preaching, ethical teaching which is not confined to abstractions but is based upon concrete life situations and forms of service to industrial communities by local churches, will make the churches a potent influence in industrial reconstruction. The trend is steadily in this direction.

But the great service which the church can render, it becomes more and more apparent, will not be in the realm of economics, but in one more difficult and vital. It will be to give to American industry, as Mr. Herbert Hoover, Secretary of the Federal Department of Commerce, has said, "A lifting purpose greater than the struggle of materialism." It is to inspire business to take its place beside religion, education and medicine in the struggle for the more abundant life of humanity; and to contribute to both labor and capital the new leadership which is best described in the parable of the Good Shepherd. The church possesses the power, at least the latent power, to evangelize society with the spirit of cooperation and to set that spirit at work tomorrow in factory, agriculture, merchandizing and commerce. Society has reached a stage in which it becomes increasingly possible to substitute research and cooperation between groups and classes for the class struggle. We must recognize the fact of the class struggle, and that class organization is inevitable, but the conquest of one class by another, the inculcation of hatred, the reliance upon force, and the stimulation of the spirit of violence must give way to the spirit and method of the Kingdom of God.

APPENDIX I.

The Social Ideals of the Churches

Action Taken by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America at a Special Meeting Held at Cleveland, Ohio, May 6-8, 1919.

RESOLVED: That we reaffirm the social platform adopted by the first Quadrennial in Chicago, 1912, and ratified by the Second Quadrennial in St. Louis, 1916.

That the churches stand for—

- I. Equal rights and justice for all men in all stations of life.
- II. Protection of the family by the single standard of purity, uniform divorce laws, proper regulation of marriage, proper housing.
- III. The fullest possible development of every child, especially by the provision of education and recreation.
- IV. Abolition of child labor.
- V. Such regulation of the conditions of toil for women as shall safeguard the physical and moral health of the community.
- VI. Abatement and prevention of poverty.
- VII. Protection of the individual and society from the social, economic and moral waste of the liquor traffic.
- VIII. Conservation of health.
- IX. Protection of the worker from dangerous machinery, occupational diseases and mortality.
- X. The right of all men to the opportunity for self-maintenance, for safeguarding this right against encroachments of every kind, for the protection of workers from the hardships of enforced unemployment.
- XI. Suitable provision for the old age of the workers, and for those incapacitated by injury.
- XII. The right of employees and employers alike to organize; and for adequate means of conciliation and arbitration in industrial disputes.
- XIII. Release from employment one day in seven.
- XIV. Gradual and reasonable reduction of hours of labor to the lowest practicable point, and for that degree of leisure, for all which is a condition of the highest human life.
- XV. A living wage as a minimum in every industry, and for the highest wage that each industry can afford.
- XVI. A new emphasis upon the application of Christian principles to the acquisition and use of property, and for the most equitable division of the product of industry that can ultimately be devised.

—Adopted at Cleveland, O., in 1919.

APPENDIX II.

Industrial Government in the Clothing Industry in Chicago

Establishment of the present system of joint government in the men's clothing industry dates from the settlement of the Chicago strike of 1910. By the terms of that settlement, put into effect in 1911, the manufacturing firm of Hart, Schaffner and Marx, one of the largest in the industry, agreed to the formation of a joint board of arbitration with power to work out means for the settlement of any future grievances. On this foundation has grown the present structure.

During the eight years, from 1911 to 1919, the plan providing impartial machinery became more firmly established, more complete in detail. In 1919 plans of government similar to that worked out in Hart, Schaffner and Marx were adopted for the entire Chicago Market.

The establishment of order in the ranks of this one firm in Chicago followed a period of chaotic struggle in an industry presenting unique and grave problems. The clothing industry was highly seasonal, most of the employers were small contractors and competition among them was intense. The labor ranks were composed largely of immigrants striving to find a place in the new world, exploited by the competition and the tragic recurrence of unemployment.

Labor organization was attempted and for a time the United Garment Workers did manage to gain some power, but it was unable to bring order to the troubled state of the industry. Failure of the officers of the union to secure desired improvements in wages and working conditions and their termination of certain strikes without obtaining the relief sought and without the acquiescence of the rank and file, caused suspicion and dissatisfaction within the union ranks.

After the strike of 1910 a new path was followed in the shops of Hart, Schaffner and Marx. In order to work out a system of joint government, leadership was required on both sides. A labor manager was employed by the company, a man outside the industry, who could therefore come to the problems involved without prejudice. Prof. Earl Dean Howard of Northwestern University became the pioneer of this new type of labor manager.

Sidney Hillman, a young Russian Jew employed as a cutter in one of the Hart, Schaffner and Marx shops came into leadership among the workers during the 1910 labor troubles and later took a prominent part in the working out of the plan for joint government. With the labor group organized in the Hart, Schaffner and Marx shops as the nucleus, the workers in the men's clothing industry seceded from the United Garment Workers in 1914 and with Sidney Hillman as leader formed the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, organized on industrial rather than on craft lines. This union is independent, not affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and is one of the most powerful in any industry.

The plan as put into operation in the shops of the Hart, Schaffner and Marx Company, has been amended and revised as the experience of the years has pointed the way. It provides for shop representatives, one elected by secret ballot by the union members of each shop for an indefinite term of office. All employes who are members of the union are entitled to vote and are also eligible for election. Four (or more if necessary) deputies are appointed by the union, representing each branch of the trade, (i. e. cutters, coat makers, trouser makers, vest makers) who devote all their time to assisting in the carrying out of the provisions of the agreement on behalf of the union. They devote all their time to union duties and are paid by the union. The company appoints such deputies as may be necessary in carrying out its side of the agreement.

A Trade Board, originally designed to include eleven members, five appointed by the union, five by the management and a neutral chairman appointed by the Board of Arbitration, was provided for, but for several years the activities of the Trade Board have been carried on by the Chairman alone. The Chairman holds office during the term of the agreement, and the agreements have since 1913 been renewed, revised and amended as desired every three years.

A rate Committee handles piece-rate making functions and is composed of three members, one selected by the employes, one by the management and the chairman of the Trade Board.

The Arbitration Board is composed of three members, one selected by the employees, one selected by the employers and a third by these two.

In the functioning of this plan the shop representatives have charge of complaints and organization matters within their shop. When a grievance arises in the shop it is reported to the shop representative who investigates it and takes it up with the shop superintendent and they try to reach a settlement. If no satisfactory solution can be reached the shop representative reports the matter to his deputy. Adjustments made in this way are not binding on their principals and are subject to revision by the Trade Board. The shop representatives may also collect union dues and perform any other such union duties provided they are carried out in such a way as not to interfere with shop discipline and efficiency. They are expected to promote amity and the cooperative spirit of the agreement.

If a complaint is referred to the deputies it is their duty to investigate and try to reach a satisfactory settlement. They have power to investigate, mediate and adjust complaints and have power to summon and examine witnesses, to present testimony or evidence and do any other similar tasks as may be necessary to place their case before the trial body. They have access to any shop for the purpose of making an investigation. The statement of the chief deputy is regarded as an authoritative presentation of the position of his principal and unless reversed or modified by either of the trial boards, the agreement of the chief deputies in all matters over which they have authority must be observed by all parties. If the deputies are unable to agree on an adjustment they certify the case to the Trade Board for trial. In making such certification the deputy appealing to the Board must file a statement giving specifically the nature of the complaint. A copy of this statement is furnished to the representative of the other party who is given at least 24 hours to prepare his answer unless an emergency demands an immediate trial. In the event of an appeal to the Trade Board or Arbitration Board the deputies may represent their respective principals before the Board.

The Trade Board is the primary board for adjusting grievances arising between the employees and the management. Complaints may be brought before it on appeal after action by the shop representatives and deputies or direct by either party without intervention of the shop representatives, or deputies. In the event of direct appeal a statement of the facts and grounds for such complaint must be filed in writing. All decisions of the Board must be rendered in writing and copies given to the representatives of each party. The Trade Board is authorized also to hear complaints from the union concerning the discipline of its members and to take any action necessary to conserve the interests of the agreement. In case either party should desire to appeal from any decision of the Trade Board, or from any change of rules by the Trade Board to the Arbitration Board they have the right to do so upon filing a notice in writing with the Trade Board within 30 days from the date of the decision. The Trade Board will then certify the matter to the Arbitration Board.

The Arbitration Board has full and final jurisdiction over all matters related to the agreement. It is the duty of the Board to investigate and mediate and adjudicate all matters brought before it. The practice developed leaves all questions of fact and testimony mainly to the consideration of the Trade Board, while the Board of Arbitration concerns itself mainly with questions of principle and the application of the agreement to new issues as they arise. This is not considered as limiting the powers of the Arbitration Board which are broad enough to make it the judge of facts as well as principle when necessary. A majority decision of the Board is binding on all parties.

During the latter part of 1918 and the early months of 1919 the union carried on an intensive organization campaign and by May had most of the clothing workers in the Chicago market enrolled, and it was possible then to insist upon agreements similar to the one in force in the Hart, Schaffner and Marx shops. Large independent manufacturers and the Wholesale Clothiers' Association and the Wholesale Tailors' Association had signed such agreements by the end of May of that year and the entire Chicago market began operating on a system of joint government. The plan varying in details but similar in intent and function has been adopted in other markets and a National Federation of Clothing Manufacturers has been organized to deal with the national organization of the workers, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

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Clothing Workers of Chicago, 1910-1922.

Chicago Joint Board, 1922

A comprehensive account of the history, organization and operation of one of the most advanced experiments in the joint control of an industry by employers and their organized employees.

American Academy of Political and Social Science. (Comp.)

Ethics of the Professions and of Business.

Philadelphia: American Academy of Political and Social Science, May, 1922, Vol. CI, No. 190.

A special issue of the *Annals* devoted to a selected collection of accounts of the attempts made by various business and professional groups to frame ethical standards looking toward social control. Of value in having gathered together the expressions of efforts in this transitional phase of development.

Beard, Mary.

A Short History of the American Labor Movement.

New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1920, and The Worker's Book Shelf.

A brief and elementary substitute for the longer and more scholarly work of Commons and Associates.

Berridge, William Arthur.

Cycles of Unemployment in the United States, 1903-1922.

Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1923.

A study, which in its original form won first prize from the Pollak Foundation for Economic Research, revised for publication as one of its series. The meagerness and unsatisfactory character of unemployment statistics, especially prior to 1914, made it necessary for the author to attempt to obtain a register of relative intensity only, the movements of unemployment above and below a norm, without reference to the actual numbers unemployed. It has laid a basis for further investigation and is a contribution to the study of the problem.

Bing, Alexander M.

Wartime Strikes and Their Adjustment.

New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1921

A valuable account of the labor difficulties which occurred during the war, of the agencies created for their adjustment and of the principles which guided the endeavor to meet the emergency situation.

Blankenhorn, Heber N.

The Strike for Union.

New York: H. W. Wilson Co., 1924.

A study of the problems involved in a strike for unionization in the coal fields, based on the history of the Somerset, Pennsylvania, strike of 1922-1923.

Boeckel, Richard.

Labor's Money.

New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1923.

The first attempt to set forth in detail labor's experiments in the conduct of banks. The book is of value in bringing to public attention the first three years' accomplishments in this new field.

Bogart, Ernest Ludlow.

Economic History of the United States.

New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1922.

A good background for understanding the present economic situation in this country.

Budish, Jacob M. and Soule, George Henry.

The New Unionism in the Clothing Industry.

New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1920.

A presentation of the progressive development of the unions in the various branches of the clothing industry toward the "new unionism," of the elements involved, the steps taken and the new emphases which mark the new trend.

Carroll, Mollie Ray.

Labor and Politics: the Attitude of the American Federation of Labor towards Legislation and Politics.

Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1923.

A careful study of one phase of the relation between labor and politics in the United States. Presents the relation of a specific industrial organization to politics and law and gives a comprehensive statement of the Federation's policy and a valuable discussion of the limitations of its program as judged by its own standards.

Case, Clarence Marsh.

Non-violent Coercion.

New York: Century Co., 1923.

A study of peaceful social pressure, discussing the two phases—the resistance of a group, like the conscientious objectors, to the attempts of society to force them into activities against their will, and of groups like the followers of Gandhi who attempt to work specific changes by non-violent coercion.

Chenery, William L.

Industry and Human Welfare.

New York: Macmillan Co., 1922.

A brief history of the development of American industry in relation to the welfare of the workers.

Commons, John Rogers, and others.

Industrial Government.

New York: Macmillan Co., 1923.

A popular presentation of the observations of a group which, under the direction of Professor Commons and financed by four Wisconsin employers, set out to examine some of the establishments which are experimenting with plans for employee representation.

Commons, John Rogers, and others.

History of Labor in the United States.

New York: Macmillan Co., 1918.

Generally accepted as a standard history of American trade-unionism and other aspects of the labor movement in this country up to the war period.

Commons, John Rogers and Andrews, John Bertram.

Principles of Labor Legislation (Revised edition).

New York: Harper Bros., 1920.

The best single work on the relation of the law to labor and the problem of welfare and protective legislation in the United States.

Commons, John Rogers (ed.)

Trade Unionism and Labor Problems (second series)

New York: Ginn & Co., 1921.

One of the best standard works on this general subject in the United States. An excellent text book.

Cowdrick, Edward S.

Manpower in Industry.

New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1924.

A presentation of the principles of human relationship in industry and of some of the problems of personal administration.

Douglas, Paul Howard, and others.

The Worker in Modern Economic Society.

Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1923.

One of the best single volumes covering the whole range of labor and industry. A book of readings, well arranged, under the main headings—Human Nature and Industry, The Development of Economic Organization, The Worker in His Relation to the Market, Security and Risk, The Worker's Approach to His Problems, The Employers' Approach, the Communities' Approach.

Edie, Lionel Danforth (ed.)

Stabilization of Business.

New York: Macmillan Co., 1923.

A carefully selected series of articles by various authorities on different phases of the control of business cycles. It is suggestive and non-technical in presentation.

Federated American Engineering Societies.

Waste in Industry.

New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1921.

A detailed engineering study of the waste in typical industries and the responsibilities for it. An enlightening book on an important phase of industry.

Fitch, John A.

The Causes of Industrial Unrest.

New York: Harper & Bros., 1924.

An examination, with the most recent statistics, of the situations that give rise to industrial unrest—wages, hours, unemployment, status of unions with employers and under the law, etc.

French, Carroll Eiker.

The Shop Committee in the United States.

Baltimore, John Hopkins Press, 1923.

A doctor's thesis on the shop committee. It is a careful objective piece of work based largely on documentary sources and is of value in having gathered such sources together.

Friday, David.

Profits, Wages and Prices.

New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1920.

A presentation of the course of profits, wages and prices, with a concluding chapter on the possibilities of increasing real wages.

Goldmark, Josephine C.

Fatigue and Efficiency.

New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1912.

The standard work on the relation between the fatigue of the worker and the quality and quantity of his output. It must be included because no recent book covers the field as does this work.

Hamilton, Walton Hale and May, Stacy.

The Control of Wages.

New York: George H. Doran Co., 1923, and The Worker's Book Shelf.

A study of the sources from which wage increases may come, and action that might bring higher wages.

Hoxie, Robert Franklin.

Scientific Management and Labor.

New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1915.

The point of view of an economist, sympathetic with both trade unions and scientific management, on the conflict between them. The book is older than most of the volumes here listed but is valuable because of its point of view.

Johnsen, Julia E.

Selected Articles on Government Ownership of Coal Mines.

New York: H. W. Wilson Co., 1923.

Readings on the coal problem arranged as for a debate on government ownership.

King, Wilford Isbell.

Employment, Hours and Earnings in Prosperity and Depression, United States, 1920-22.

New York: National Bureau of Economic Research, 1923.

A valuable and comprehensive study of the effect of the economic cycle on employment and earnings. Covers by careful estimate fields for which data are not collected. Throws new light on several phases of this important problem.

Kirkconnell, Watson.

International Aspects of Unemployment.

New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1923.

A presentation of the unemployment problem in its broadest phases, emphasizing that unemployment cannot be successfully coped with on a local or national basis, and showing the ramifications that make it a world problem.

Klein, Philip.

The Burden of Unemployment.

New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1923.

A study of the unemployment relief measures adopted in 15 American cities during the depression period of 1921-22. The second part of the volume deals with the use of employment statistics.

Leiserson, William M.

Adjusting Immigrant and Industry.

New York: Harper Bros., 1924.

A practical study of the relationship between the immigrant and our industrial regime. The book is not doctrinaire, but treats the subject objectively. The author, well equipped for the task, is chairman of the Arbitration Board in the New York and Rochester market of the clothing trade, an industry employing a high percent of foreign born workers.

Mitchell, Wesley Clair, and others.

Income in the United States: its Amount and Distribution, 1909-1919.

New York: National Bureau of Economic Research, 1921-22.

An illuminating study of our national income. The text and its detailed tables give the best presentation of the amount and distribution of our national income which has yet been made. The subject is one difficult to treat in a satisfactory manner, because wholly adequate, comparable data are lacking.

Myers, James.

Representative Government in Industry.

New York: George H. Doran Co., 1924.

A presentation of experiments with shop committees and employee representation plans. The author is associated with one of the most interesting of such experiments.

National Bureau of Economic Research.

Business Cycles and Unemployment.

New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1923.

A compendium of the points of view of numerous experts on various aspects of the prosperity-depression fluctuations. It is the most comprehensive compilation of discussions of this perplexing problem.

National Industrial Conference Board.

The Growth of Works Councils in the United States.

Special Report Number 32, New York, 1925.

Patten, Simon Nelson.

Essays in Economic Theory.

New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1924.

A valuable collection of suggestive essays on economic theory including the author's two important monographs, **The Theory of Dynamic Economics** and **The Reconstruction of Economic Theory**.

Plumb, Glenn Edward and Roylance, W. G.

Industrial Democracy: A Plan for its Achievement.

New York: B. W. Huebsch, 1923.

A discussion of the extension of the "Plumb Plan," as originally proposed for the railroads, to all industry.

Pound, Arthur.

The Iron Man in Industry.

Boston: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1922.

A discussion of the effect of machine production on human beings. The whole is the presentation of the point of view of an observer rather than a scientific treatise.

Savage, Marion Dutton.

Industrial Unionism in America.

New York: Ronald Press, 1922.

A study of the three important phases of industrial unionism in America: (1) the tendencies toward industrial unionism of certain of the unions within the A. F. of L.; (2) revolutionary industrial unionism including workers of all industries; (3) independent industrial unionism in an individual industry.

Seasonal Operation in the Construction Industries.
New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1924.

The report, with recommendations, of a committee of the president's Conference on Unemployment presenting methods for the solution of seasonal problems through specified cooperation of trades and professions vitally concerned in each locality—architects, engineers, bankers, contractors, building-material dealers and producers, real estate men and building trades labor.

Suffern, A. E.

Conciliation and Arbitration in the Coal Industry of America.

Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1915.

Though not a current book it is perhaps the best source of information for an understanding of the background of the long struggle for organization in the coal industry.

Tugwell, Rexford, Guy (ed)

The Trend of Economics.

New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1924.

Papers by a dozen of the leading younger American economists, of the present trend in economic theory and practice. Some of them are a little technical, but the book is highly suggestive of the possible contributions of genuine economic science to social amelioration.

Veblen, Thorstein.

Absentee Ownership and Business Enterprise in Recent Times.

New York: B. W. Huebsch, 1923.

Traces the origin and evolution of our present-day group life and activities as centered in and influenced by the practice of absentee ownership of industrial equipment and its credit economy, and the effect of this absentee control over the lives and affairs of the classes of people making up the group. He then endeavors to probe future trends.

Veblen, Thorstein.

The Engineers and the Price System.

New York: B. W. Huebsch, 1921.

An exposition of the opposition between productive efficiency and the modern commercial system. Its chief lack is quantitative evidence.

Warbasse, James Peter.

Cooperative Democracy.

New York: Macmillan Co., 1923.

A presentation of the Rochdale principle of consumers' cooperation made by an author writing as a pleader for this form of organization. Of value in so far as it states the Rochdale principle for those not familiar with its tenets.

Zimand, Savel.

Modern Social Movements.

New York: H. W. Wilson Co., 1921.

A descriptive hand book of the various social and economic movements in the modern world, with extensive bibliography.

IN PREPARATION

National Bureau of Economic Research.

Growth of American Trade Unions from 1880 to 1920.

Will give comparative trade union membership statistics year by year; and will show which industries are most highly organized, which least; which unions are increasing in membership, which are decreasing; proportion of total gain fully employed belonging to trade unions; number of women enrolled in trade unions; whether women's unions are increasing or decreasing; in which industries women's unions are most active; and the extent of organization among "professional workers."

II. CHURCH AND INDUSTRY

Coffin, Henry Sloane.

A More Christian Industrial Order.

New York: Macmillan Co., 1920.

A popular discussion of Christian principles in industry, by a prominent preacher.

Committee on the War and the Religious Outlook.

The Church and Industrial Reconstruction.

New York: Association Press, 1920.

The best summary that has been made of the Christian ideal for society, the un-Christian aspects of the present industrial order and giving a critical view of the Christian attitude toward the present system, its failures and their ramifications, and throwing light upon some of the steps that may be taken toward a more Christian order.

Douglass, H. Paul.

From Survey to Service.

New York: Council of Women for Home Missions and Missionary Education Movement, 1921.

A mission study volume on the work of the church for industrial groups.

Eddy, Sherwood.

The New World of Labor.

New York: George H. Doran Co., 1923.

A bird's-eye-view of trends in the realm of labor subsequent to the war, as noted by the author while making a trip around the world in 1922-1923. The work is not exhaustive, could not be, under the circumstances, but in a popular presentation it gives the reader a glimpse of some significant trends in the various countries visited.

Ellwood, Charles A.

The Reconstruction of Religion.

New York: Macmillan Co., 1922.

A discussion of the church and social problems from the viewpoint of social science.

Husslein, Joseph.

Work, Wealth and Wages.

Chicago: Matre & Co., 1921.

A discussion of the application of Christian principles to modern social and industrial questions, from the Catholic point of view

Interchurch World Movement.

Report on the Steel Strike of 1919.

New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1920.

A volume unique in its plan to present all the phases and contributory factors of a single strike as assembled and studied by persons not participating in the conflict. It is the only volume devoted to a study of one strike in the United States.

Public Opinion and the Steel Strike.

New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1921.

Supplementary reports of some of the investigators who did the field work for the original report on the steel strike. Each of the supplementary reports in this volume treats of one special problem, including: under-cover men, the Pittsburg newspapers and the strike, civil rights in Western Pennsylvania, the mind of immigrant communities, welfare work of the U. S. Steel Corporation, the Pittsburg pulpit and the strike, the steel report and public opinion.

Johnson, F. Ernest and Holt, Arthur E.

Christian Ideals in Industry.

New York: Methodist Book Concern, 1924.

A book prepared primarily for young people's and adult classes in church schools. It seeks to lead the reader in questioning what the principles of a Christian industrial order actually mean in terms of the daily conduct of industry. This is its aim rather than either the statement of the principles themselves or the laying down of rules for the solution of specific industrial problems.

Johnson, F. Ernest and Ryan, John A. (eds.)

Industrial Relations and the Churches.

The Annals. American Academy of Political and Social Science, Philadelphia, September 1922.

This issue of the Annals is devoted to discussions of industrial relations and the churches. The problems of industrial conflict are stated and discussed by men in first-hand touch with some phase of the problem. In like manner the social functions of industry are presented and discussed. Then the church's duty in relation to industry is discussed by religious leaders of the Protestant, Catholic and Jewish faiths, and by employers, employees, ministers and laymen. The final section is devoted to statements on the industrial programs of various religious bodies. The discussion is of value in assembling a wide range of opinion on this subject.

Page, Kirby (ed.)

Christianity and Economic Problems.

New York: Association Press, 1922.

This is the second volume of the Social Problem Discussion Series. It contains a running text drawn from various sources giving information on the point under discussion. At the end of each chapter questions for thought and discussion are listed.

Ranschenbusch, Walter.

Christianity and the Social Crisis.

New York: Macmillan Co., 1911.

One of the most important of the pre-war discussions of the church and social problems, by an outstanding exponent of social Christianity. The first section of the book sketches the historical aspects of the question, while the body of the volume discusses the challenge of modern conditions.

Ryan, John A. and Husslein, Joseph (eds.)

The Church and Labor.

New York: Macmillan Co., 1920.

An important collection of Catholic documents on labor questions.

Ryan, John A.

Social Reconstruction.

New York: Macmillan Co., 1920.

A volume of lectures discussing the Roman Catholic Bishops' Program of Social Reconstruction by the Director of the Social Action Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference.

Ward, Harry F.

The New Social Order.

New York: Macmillan Co., 1922.

Against the background of the conviction "that a new order of social living is necessary for both the practical and the spiritual interests of humanity," the author discusses the nature and principles of this new order and the programs for a new order which have emerged from various quarters including the pronouncements on social ethics emanating from many religious bodies. It is valuable to have these programs gathered together for purposes of comparison, evaluation and the light they throw upon trends of thought.

Ward, Harry F.

The Profit Motive.

New York: League for Industrial Democracy, 1924.

An analysis of the profit motive showing its weaknesses, and discussing other more valid motives.

III. ENGLISH BOOKS *

Askwith, Sir G. R.

Industrial Problems and Disputes.

London: Murray, 1920.

A large book reviewing the experiences of one of the most prominent British labor mediators and arbitrators. Full of wisdom and stimulation.

Clay, Henry.

Economics, an Introduction for the General Reader.

New York: Macmillan Co., 1920.

One of the best and most readable treatments of general economics from the point of view of a liberal, though not a radical, economist. A good basis for those who have not had recent training in economic theory.

Cole, G. D. H.

Workshop Organization.

London & New York: Oxford University Press, 1923.

Presents valuable documents illustrating the constitution and functions of works committees and shop stewards and suggestive material relating to the practice of democratic methods of industrial administration. Its chief value lies, as the author says, in the material it affords for a study "of the response of the working class to changes in its economic environment."

Hobson, John A.

The Evolution of Modern Capitalism (new edition)

New York: Charles Scribner & Co., 1913.

Though older than the other books considered for this list it must be included as the standard work on this subject. It is a study by the noted economist of the growth of modern capitalistic institutions and of its meaning.

Robertson, Dennis Holme.

The Control of Industry.

New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1923.

A brief, clear discussion of the necessity and possibility of the control of industry for social purposes.

Russell, Bertrand.

Proposed Roads to Freedom.

New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1919.

Description and evaluation of the various programs for economic and social change.

Tawney, Richard Henry.

The Acquisitive Society.

New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1920.

A brilliant plea from ethical and economic standpoints, for a society based upon service rather than profit. One of the most challenging and discerning indictments of capitalism.

Webb, Sidney and Webb, Beatrice.

Industrial Democracy (revised edition)

New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1920.

The standard study of the operation of trade unionism in England, and of its problems.

Webb, Sidney and Webb, Beatrice.

History of Trade Unionism (revised edition)

New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1920.

The standard history of British trade-unionism.

Webb, Sidney and Webb, Beatrice.

A Constitution for the Socialist Commonwealth of Great Britain.

New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1920.

A carefully presented outline of a possible future society resting on public ownership, cooperation, and industrial democracy in private enterprise.

Webb, Sidney and Webb, Beatrice.

The Consumers' Cooperative Movement.

London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1921.

The best single study, sympathetic but critical, of consumers' cooperation in Great Britain.

Webb, Sidney and Webb, Beatrice.

Decay of Capitalist Civilization.

London: Allen & Unwin, 1923.

An indictment of capitalism in all its forms and phases, presented from two standpoints—moral and economic.

* These English books are listed here because they have become a recognized part of American economic thought.

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